/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to • [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions: "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 559 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] [166] [613] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

121 273* of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the 123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa- 124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected • 125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:
• 125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRAWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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A territorial distinction not recognized by the federal government is the division of the town center into two sections, or sides, by the street running in front of the church. The two sides of the division are called Ahk'olnantik, upper side, and Alannantik, lower side. The upper side is in the direction of higher lands in the southwest called Ahk'olk'inal, and the lower side is in the direction of lower lands to the northeast, called Alank'inal. The emphasis on relative altitude implicit in place nomenclature is a central fact in the Indians' ecological adjustment. Marriage is endogamous within each division by explicit rule, and in fact 87 percent of all marriages conform to the rule, according to a census I took in 1958. A man who marries a girl on the opposite side is forced to make a payment of eighteen liters of liquor to the bachelors of the opposite division. In addition to regulating competition for marriage partners, the dual division is the basis for allocating civil and religious offices.

Whether the dual division was an indigenous trait or not is a moot point. The pattern for dual organizations existed in both Spanish and indigenous societies (Foster 1951:5). There is some speculation that the dual divisions are a product of the Spanish colonial policy of the congregación, when populations of different origins were drawn together. However, local historical accounts indicate that several ethnic groups were introduced at various periods. After the initial congregación, foreign Indians were incorporated in the sixteenth century, in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Secretaría de Gobierno Constitucional, October 26, 1893), and as late as the 1930s in response to the land reform program. As each ethnic group entered the region, it was either incorporated into one of the existing divisions or was isolated. The persistence of polarization must be explained on other grounds. The widespread distribution in the Chiapas highlands of dual divisions defined by territory and descent in communities of both dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns suggests the indigenous origins of the division. A dual division of upper and lower sections based on endogamy and equal representation is found in San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:64), Chanal (Eva Hunt, NSF II report), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1946:424), and Cancuk (Siverts 1964). The Nahuatl term *calpul* is applied in some cases to these divisions. The towns where calpulles are found are *paraje*, or vacant center, types (Tax 1937) which

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six-years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically did,[5] since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to increase subsistence agriculture.

Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying periods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of privately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field. The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addition to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop, 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of recorded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man, his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos, toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160 pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to market prices for crops or rents.

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irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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ered to be dirty since the pigs and dogs cannot scavenge the feces. Mothers train their children to have bowel movements in the evening when darkness offers them privacy in the houseyard.

Changes in house types in the seven-year period from my first census in 1958 to the second in 1964 are tabulated in Table 14. There has been a general improvement in the standards: tile roofs have increased from 1 to 20.1 percent. The increase has been at the expense of both wood shingle (declined 8.3 percent) and of thatch and palm leaf (declined 9.8 percent).

TABLE 14. Types of House Construction

	1958 *		1964 †	
	Number of houses	*Percent of all houses*	*Number of houses*	*Percent of all houses*
Roofs				
Tile	1	1	58	20
Shingle	27	23	41	14
Thatch or palm	87	76	190	66
Walls				
Board plank	17	15	66	23
Wattle and daub	98	85	223	77
Sweatbath				
Have	60	52	120	42
Have not	54	47	169	58
Unknown	1	1		

* Based on sample of 115 houses.
† Based on total survey of houses in center with 22 unspecified.

The numbers of houses with wood plank walls has increased from 14.8 percent to 22.8 percent. This is a temporary arrangement, and the planks are usually replaced with wattle and daub, so the increase may simply reflect new construction. The percentage of houses having sweatbaths has declined from 52.1 to 41.5. No new sweatbaths have been made for the last ten years or so, and many of those recorded are not in use.

The changes in housing type reflect the greater prosperity of the town as well as the increasing receptivity to outside influence. The increase in tile roofs means a greater dependency on external markets. Ten years before the final census, a man who put on a tile roof feared the consequences of witchcraft.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Changes in the household composition in the period from 1958 to 1964 between the two censuses I made in the field indicate some of the trends toward nuclear family units or bilaterally-rather than predominantly patrilineally-extended units (Tables 15 and 16). Comparisons are made between the same household in each period. Comparison of family forms in the six-year period indicates a high rate of change, with 39 percent remaining the same and 40 percent changing. The remaining 21 percent are the newly created families. The direction of change favors nuclear families (40 cases or 29 percent of changes) and virilocal forms (27 cases or 20 percent of changes). Nuclear families were the most stable, with 62 remaining the same and 62 changing to another form. This contrasts with uxorilocal households which are the least stable, with 11 cases remaining the same and 23 changing, and virilocal households which follow a similar pattern with 14 cases remaining the same and 25 changing. Nuclear families account for 88 percent of the new families created by marriage in the period studied. The trend is toward a greater proportion of nuclear families, as measured by the various indices.

TABLE 16. Direction of Change in Household Composition, 1958–1964

	Alannantik		*Ahk'olnantik*		*Total*	
Family type	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*	*No. of families*	*Percent of total families*
Change to nuclear from						
Virilocal	14	22	4	5	18	13
Uxorilocal	5	8	9	12	14	10
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Grandparent-Grandchild			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	3	4	4	3
Unknown			2	3	2	1
Total	20	32	20	26	40	29
Change to virilocal from						
Nuclear	8	12	10	14	18	13
Uxorilocal	2	3	1	1	3	2
Joint sib			1	1	1	1
Incomplete	1	2	4	5	5	4
Total	11	17	16	21	27	20

(*cont.*)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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587
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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alamnantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
157 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to
828 state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Nah E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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(p. 285)

TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications •

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

• Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

125
152
828 •

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly. The peasant is master of his own time.

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512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons.

125
221 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

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561 1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

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796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

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[796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

•125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

TABLE 7

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AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

Residence	Cases	Per Cent
Viri-patrilocal	13	72
Uxor-patrilocal	4	23
Neolocal (Borrowing house)	1	5
Total	18	100

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Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

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Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

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The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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591 592 423 426 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed home is a young couple that married without their parents' approval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of residence, very unstable. [583] Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 156 167 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants, like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

●125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple
593 moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the
183 brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his
591 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time
603 of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It
183 seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

Amatenango Residence

Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses
592 for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young
583 606 husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

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